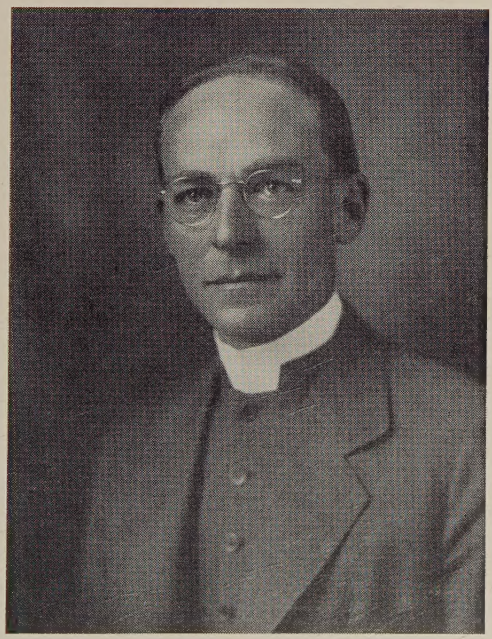
October 1953

Fellowship



WOLCOTT CUTLER *Defender*

20¢

The Stages of Nonviolence

by Andre Trocme

ff This issue could easily be considered an André Trocmé event, although we don't mean it to be. But it does announce our publication of his new book, *The Politics of Repentance* (only $2). And it does tell of his arrival here for "much speaking" under the auspices of the IFOR and for visiting with his children. In addition it features, from his hand, an informative and at times exciting analysis of the stages of nonviolence as he experienced them at Le Chambon, France. . . . Our cover subject, the Rev. Mr. Wolcott Cutler, suggests how he would react to a call to appear before a Congressional investigating committee. It becomes apparent, after reading but a few paragraphs of his article, that here is another eloquent defense of freedom of speech and thought. . . . Although the shooting war in Korea has stopped, we publish a "Letter from a 1-A-O" because the dilemma it presents still has relevance and the advice it offers, meaning, for conscientious young men at the crossroads of induction. . . . Our other letter gives a general picture of what is happening in post-Occupation Japan and comes to us from a young J-3 just finishing her short-term missionary service there for the Methodist Church.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the
Fellowship of Reconciliation

21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

JOHN SWOMLEY
Acting Secretary

A. J. MUSTE
Secretary-Emeritus

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*
COLLETTE SCHLATTER
Assistant Editor
STANLEY ROBINSON
Art Director

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

Member, Associated Church Press

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 9 ■ OCTOBER 1953

"A. J. M."

For the past thirteen years two sets of initials have represented with almost equal appropriateness the position of the Fellowship of Reconciliation: "F.O.R." and "A.J.M." At times the two have marched harmoniously along in a happy synonymity; at others they have pulled hard at the opposite ends of a tug-of-war of principle. Whatever the relationship at any given time, however, it has never been possible in those years to define the significance of "F.O.R." in terms that did not include the insights and convictions of "A.J.M."

In one sense that relationship ended on September first, when A. J. Muste formally retired as executive secretary of the Fellowship. But it ended only in the most superficial

"RETIRED"

sense. The National Council, knowing a bird in the hand when it sees it, has informed its retiring executive that it will make office space and secretarial help available to him for whatever work for the cause he chooses to do. He will, we hope and believe, use those facilities for a long time to come.

A. J. has been caught up in the formalism of a society made up principally of ordinary mortals, who at sixty-eight consider themselves well along in years. The measure fits him with all the grace and roominess that Goliath would have experienced in a size-36 breastplate. Apart from such unimportant trivia as gray hair, an occasional wrinkle, and a grudging acknowledgement that one really ought to get at least six hours sleep every night, A.J. is in the prime of life.

Coming from a long line of unneurotic octogenarian Dutchmen, he acknowledges quite matter-of-factly his intention of improving on the mark set by his father, who conceded his mortality at the age of eighty-seven. With no disrespect intended for the inscrutable ways of the Almighty, everyone on the staff accepts this declaration as very nearly tantamount to accomplishment. A.J. has a way of accomplishing what he sets out to accomplish, and since the grandson of the original Abraham wrestled with the angel, we can think of no one more likely to persuade the Heavenly Authorities to his way of thinking.

●

C-Bomb

A Congressman has suggested that, now that the Soviets have undeniably shot off something markedly resembling an H-bomb, the security of the United States demands immediate concentration on the job of finding a still more powerful weapon.

Until the other day, we thought this was just another statement by a Congressman, perhaps suffering from congenital front-pageitis. The story is that 40 H-bombs would be sufficient to prostrate utterly a country like either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. As Senator Flanders pointed out the other day, there is no known or foreseeable defense that can prevent at least an absolute minimum of 10 percent of the raiding force of bombers from getting through, which would

mean that a stockpile of 400 of these charming missiles would practically guarantee the total destruction of the only important enemy we acknowledge (and of ourselves at the same time). It is hard to see how anyone could hope to feel more secure than this.

Now, thanks to a pacifist science fiction writer, we discover that the Congressman was quite soberly in earnest. The next bomb in the hierarchy, he tells us, is the Cobalt-bomb, for which the H-bomb would serve as a "trigger" as the now-obsolescent A-Bomb acts for it.

So it is that man continues his rapid progress toward ultimate security. Presumably there is a point beyond which it will be unprofitable to go—perhaps when the X-bomb, capable of exploding the whole globe, is perfected. When that point is reached, and man finds himself with no other outlets for his inventive talents, he may turn to the unexplored territory of learning how to live with his fellows. The trouble is that he may be two or three bombs too late.

●

U. M. T.

President Eisenhower has asked the Commission on Universal Military Training to bring in a new report later this year on the practicability of carrying on UMT simultaneously with the draft. To those "in the know" this suggests that there will be a new effort to persuade Congress to adopt UMT in the session beginning in January.

Pacifists, despite occasional qualms, have played a respectable part in the annual defeat of this legislation since it was first introduced during the war. Most of them acknowledge the unhappy fact that defeating UMT in itself does not constitute much of a move toward peace. They admit the more troublesome problem that opposition to UMT frequently entangles a pacifist in arguments of dubious validity from his basic point of view. Yet in spite of these genuine difficulties most pacifists still feel that if their efforts can help prevent the automatic surrender of precious months of every American youth's life to the military, they will have accomplished something worth while.

Those who think thus will be on the alert for developments in the next few months.—A.H.

The Stages of NONVIOLENCE

by

Andre Trocme

Writing from his experience as spi itual instigator of Huguenot resistan at Le Chambon, France, during Wo War II, the European Secretary of t International FOR offers a penetratii analysis of the strategy of nonviolen as a technique of opposition. The even he describes took place between 19 and 1944 and embrace both the "figh ing war" and subsequent Nazi occup tion. The article was orginally writt for War Resisters International.

TOTALITARIAN regimes, and m generally the control exerci over a nation by police and cens render it almost impossible to ganize nonviolent resistance wartime.

If the resistance arises from dividuals or from small isola groups within a hostile mass, resisters almost inevitably will denounced, arrested and, at tin liquidated. One must have li through the collective emotions c

ted by skillful propaganda in order to understand why it is practically impossible to offer an opposition. Large towns will never be favorable ground for open nonviolent resistance.

Small towns and the countryside, where everybody knows everybody else, seem to be more adapted to it. Peasants in particular escape from the mastery exerted by radio and press, but they are timid conformists, incapable of initiative. Yet the initiative must be taken, and if it coincides with the deepest thoughts of the population, the latter will give reliable, tacit approval.

A religious feeling, rather than collective enthusiasm, is capable of creating that silent individual devotion that is essential to the nonviolent campaign. Those who initiate the campaign and accept the visible risks of the undertaking, cannot act without the support of hundreds of other more modest personalities. Denunciations are invitable, but the police will generally be reluctant to act when it feels public opinion against it.

Conditions in Chambon

These are the conditions that existed in the Chambon district between 1939 and 1944. Since the time of the Reformation, seven or eight thousand Huguenots have been living there as if in a separate world. It is impossible to arrest seven or eight thousand persons, so the authorities have had to come to terms with them. However, before oneness of purpose was reached, several stages had to be passed through by which the public opinion of the Huguenot group was educated.

First stage. Opposition to the 1939-1944 war. The beginning of resistance is always the most difficult part. After the invasion of Czechoslovakia and of Poland, it was almost impossible to say "No" to the war against Hitler. Public opinion took the two pastors of Chambon, who proclaimed their conscientious objection from the pulpit, for traitors, accomplices of the Nazis, or at least dangerous fanatics.

Second stage. Search for a form of service. The war brought in its train unspeakable sufferings; refugees early became a problem. At the time of the military collapse in 1940, after the waves of despair brought from Rotterdam by the civilian fugitives who had left parts of their families along the roads as victims of air attacks, there was an influx of refugees.

Saying "Yes" to Suffering

The two pastors saw their duty clearly as soon as the first catastrophic news arrived. It was no longer a matter of merely saying "No" to the war. It became necessary to say "Yes" to human suffering and to be on the spot where it was greatest. Quakers and the International Voluntary Service for Peace have long realized that the true pacifist witness consists in fighting evil with good. The two pastors tried, therefore, to join the International Red Cross, but French military authorities refused them permission. The pastors did not know then that two weeks later human distress would come to them.

Third Stage. Sudden change of political values. June 1940 brought the armistice between Hitler and Pétain and the end of the Republic. Values were reversed overnight. That liberty for which the French had fought was presented by the new government as a cowardly lapse that had caused the defeat of

France. The nationalism (German) against which they had fought was depicted as a noble discipline honoring the virtues of "work, family and fatherland." The extraordinary thing is that few Frenchmen immediately noticed the change.

Fourth stage. First signs of collective resistance. From 1940 to 1941 three efforts were made by the government to bring into line the Old Comrades, the churches and the youth.

With few exceptions, all the men of the district joined the Legion of War Veterans (later Pétain's party) for fear of losing their jobs. Yet, inspired by the two pastors, the chairman of the Chambon group added to the oath that imposed complete obedience to Marshal Pétain, these words: "as far as the orders I receive are in conformity with God's will." Within a year the local section of the Legion was useless for police checking of public opinion.

Resistant Spirit Aroused

Saluting the flag had become compulsory in all schools, together with the use of the Fascist salute. The College Cevenol* refused to obey the order; a group of professors that favored the salute had to attend the one held on the grounds of the State primary school. By the end of the year, the custom was abandoned in virtually all schools.

Ringing of the churchbells was ordered to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Legion. The pastors refused. In spite of the violent conduct of some women parishioners who wanted to ring the bells themselves, a small woman caretaker refused them access to

* A secondary school with a Christian pacifist outlook, founded by Trocmé at Le Chambon in 1938.

the church. These little serio-com events contributed to the rousi of the spirit of resistance of t Huguenots.

Fifth stage. The Jewish questi 1941-1942. For some months, alar ing news had been reaching Cha bon about the terrible living con tions of the Jews interned camps in the south of France. T church was very moved and cided to send one of its pastors help the social workers there. Wh he arrived, American Quaker v unteers proposed that he take Chambon any refugee children w might be got out of the cam Soon "Guespy," the first house children, was opened. In a f months, seven other houses w opened. A large proportion of children, students and adults ceived were Jewish, although was already dangerous to shel Jews. Thanks to this fraternal tion, the nature of nonviolent sistance, and also its methods, came evident both to the chu and to the population of Chamb

Sixth stage. Conflict with thorities, summer 1942. Conf eventually broke out on t counts: the setting up of yo movements and the disappeara of the Jews.

Youth Movements

M. Lamiraud, the Minister Youth, chose the summer of 194 pay a visit to the young Protesta of Chambon to rally them aro the Marshal. (The news had j reached Vichy France of the s age operations in Paris against Jews.) Through the decision of local leaders of the youth mo ments, the visit was informal had no official character. As pe were leaving a religious service delegation of thirty persons f

he College Cevenol went up to the Minister and the Prefect who was ccompanying him, to protest solmnly against the anti-Semitic perecutions and to suggest that if the aids had taken place in Chambon he young people would have opposed them in a pacifist manner. The Prefect was indignant, and while admitting having received rders, repeated the official theme: There is no question of persecuion, but a regrouping of the popuation of the Jews in Poland." Then turning toward the pastors, e added: "Beware! I have received etters from seven denouncers and know all your doings and gesures." That very week the youth roups were called together by the astors to set up a hiding-place for he hundred or so Jews who were n the village.

The Jews Disappear

The storm broke a fortnight later when Vichy police came to carry off the Jews. After two big buses had been parked in the village quare (for obvious reasons!), the astors were called upon to give he list of the Jews. On their reusal, they were urged to sign a notice calling on the Jews to give themselves up so as not to disturb ublic order nor to endanger the amilies that were sheltering them. Again the pastors refused, although hey were threatened with arrest f the order was not carried out by noon the next day, Sunday. That ame night they put into action the lan arranged for the "disappearnce" of the Jews. The church was ull that Sunday morning, for everyone expected the arrest of the astors. The Village Council was n session under threat and signed he notorious appeal to the Jews. At noon, not a single Jew appeared. The pastors were not arrested, and forty policemen searched every house in the village in vain. They did arrest one solitary Jew and put him in one of the big buses. The people filed by, loading him with presents! Realizing that they were by no means popular, the police were stupified. The next day they had to release the prisoner, whose ancestry was but half Jewish. The policemen remained in the village for three weeks, as first zealous and convinced of the rightness of their action, but soon losing all enthusiasm. Subsequent raids proved equally futile.

Arrests and Violence

Seventh stage. Development and perseverance in the test. The success of the methods employed at Le Chambon attracted an increasing flood of Jewish refugees. Soon there were several hundreds of them. (The Jewish Relief Agency states that more than two thousand of them stayed temporarily in the region, hidden on the farms.) This was when Cimade (a Protestant student group) came into the picture. It provided the Jews with false identity papers, absolutely necessary to get rations and safe conduct to the Swiss frontier. The resisters did not hide their activities from the authorities; they merely prevented identities being known, and in the end the police shut their eyes. But the Vichy government was not satisfied, and in the spring of 1943 had the two pastors and the headmaster of the school arrested. After six weeks, however, the pastors were liberated.

Eighth stage. Beginnings of violence, 1943. It was at this time that the pastors were first approached by representatives of the Secret

Army (Maquis). While expressing their sympathy, they made quite clear the difference in aims (national liberation for the Maquis, the defense of man for the others) and in methods (armed resistance for the Maquis, noncollaboration for the others). The two patterns of action existed side by side, often intermingled, right to the Liberation. It is difficult to say whether the Maquis protected the nonviolent groups, or if the latter saved the Maquis in this district from the tragic fate of the Maquis elsewhere (Vercors, for instance). In any case, the nonviolent ones raised no question of keeping their hands clean or of dissociating themselves from those who, like themselves, were bravely risking their lives. Neither did the Maquisards accuse the nonviolent ones of cowardice.

In the beginning of the summer of 1943, one of the refugee homes housing 23 students was raided. The Director and all but three of the students died in extermination camps.

Violence broke out on the day a Vichy policeman, a spy against the Resistance, was assassinated four Maquisards. The pastors pu licly expressed disapproval of t act but were held responsible, n ertheless, by the Gestapo and c demned to death. An indiscret on the part of a "supposed s (some of the spies serving the G tapo were actually spying *on* Gestapo for the Resistance) g adequate warning for a success escape. For the ten months that pastors were in hiding, the chu passed through a wonderful pe od, for the nonviolent movem had spread throughout the distr

Ninth stage. Resistance to the sistance, 1944. From the time of Normandy landing, the situat was extremely complex. The wh region had come under the auth ity of the 4th Republic (Gaullis Raids by German troops, the sho ing of the inhabitants of cert villages and farms, the burning houses—all these caused great er tion among an over-excited peo

Allied planes parachuted a during the night and many of youth of the church and the lage joined the Maquis. A few p

erred to remain nonviolent and erved in other ways.

Preaching Repentance

Six weeks before the Liberation, lmost without firing a shot, the Maquis made prisoners of 120 Gerans trying to flee to Lyons and mprisoned them in a country house h Chambon. This was the time hen the story of the Oradour masacre was being circulated, when very German was held responsible or the crime. The pastor made imself unpopular with the Maquiards by visiting the prisoners. On unday mornings, in a full church, he pastor preached severe sermons o those Maquisards present; in the fternoon the same sermon, transated word for word, was repeated o the Germans. On both sides, onsciences were aroused, and arely has the evidence of the gosel of peace been so striking.

Tenth stage. Martyrdom, 1944. his last stage was passed through y two men alone.

Daniel Trocmé, professor, headaster of two homes for refugee hildren and students, was arrested n 1943, at the same time as his ewish students. Held a prisoner, e continued to defend the Jews nd was identified with them by he Gestapo. He died in the conentration camp at Mazdanek, Poand, probably gassed, in the spring f 1944.

Roger Le Forestier, a doctor at hambon, arrested after an imprudent step taken at the Prefecture, ave so powerful a witness for onviolent Christianity that he was et off, but required to go to Gerany as a "volunteer." While beig transferred to Germany, he gain fell into the hands of the estapo and was massacred with 20 other innocent victims.

One cannot draw from the success of the nonviolent resistance in the Chambon district, any lesson of a line of conduct that would insure success at another time and place. As a matter of fact, the attempt at resistance in Chambon was very imperfect. Rarely during the course of it did those taking part have a feeling of dazzling success. Only when it was all over, trying to evaluate what had happened to them, did they feel obliged to thank God for the daily proof he had given of his existence, and of his intervention in human affairs as soon as a few men place complete confidence in him.

Morality for Living

At one point, the experience was dissatisfying. It was not possible for nonviolent resisters to avoid using false identity papers. To show a true identity paper was the equivalent of a denunciation. It seemed to us preferable to violate a formal moral rule (absolute truth) in order to apply a living moral rule (the absolute value of the human person). Jesus preferred to violate the Sabbath in order to help the men of his day.

On another point, the experience was positive. We learned that to resist war is but half our duty; saying "No" to evil is not enough. War resistance must include something else, and that something else is the salvation of the physical and moral life of mankind. That salvation is better assured by nonviolent resistance than by violent resistance, although nonviolent resistance also has its failures and its martyrs. We have never been able to console ourselves for having been unable to save from death the twenty students of the Maison des Roches.

And yet we ask ourselves how much ruin and mourning would have been caused if the two pastors and the Christians at Chambon had felt obliged to lay ambushes and throw plastic (a special sort of explosive used by the Maquis) on the German police as they passed.

Let us leave aside the probl of national liberation; Gandhi ald could deal with it. Yet we c imagine a Europe that is entir nonviolent offering total resistar to Hitler, a Europe that the d tator and his police would ha been unable to conquer.

Witnessing to the "Good News"

Whether you are a Yankee or a Red Sox fan in baseball is not to any great degree a matter of metaphysics or ultimate truth (though some fans and philosophers are bound to take issue). Whether you prefer Duz or Duzn't affects primarily the manufacturer.

In the nature of the case, pacifism cannot be a private affair or an individual indulgence. The ground of our faith is not a baseless abstraction. We believe in pacifism, in part, because we think it is true, is in accord with the purpose and nature of life. It is a description of what **is** as much as what **ought to be** or **might be.**

Consequently, our commitment to proclaim the message grows out of the nature of the message itself. Its claim of truth which rests upon us is no less a claim upon others. That "we are members one of another" confronts both the man who recognizes it and the man who doesn't. We are called to be witnesses to the truth, to be the city on the hill which cannot be hid, the candle set on a holder for all to see.

We are called not only to be witnesses to truth but also disciples of a gospel whose center is love. The "good news" of pacifism is that love is the law of life—it is valid and relevant **now.** The pathetic hope that it would be a good thing if nations tried pacifism some day is the familiar caricature of pacifism. The man who lives only for "after the revolution" is such a prey to anxiety (or aggression) that he cannot practice peacemaking when and where he does have a chance. The genuine disciple of love is working now, concretely, to break down enmity, to restore the broken community, to call men by word and deed to a better way.

Whether as witnesses or disciples, our message cannot be hid. If it is, we are but concealing, even from ourselves, that we have none. This is not to say that we must be button-holing people every minute, but if our pacifism is more than verbal it will be unmistakable.

Charles Walker

A Letter from JAPAN

by Gay Hendrixson

WERE the most sophisticated New Yorker to transport himself across the Pacific and smack into the heart of Tokyo, spend a few days looking around and then return again to the Empire City, his first remark to friends would probably be something to the effect that "the difference between East and West isn't all that it's cracked up to be!" After a look at the many modern prepossessing buildings, the well-stocked department stores with their slick show windows, the well-dressed men and women on the streets, and the numerous late model cars zooming by, one could hardly blame him if he concluded that Kipling's famous observation (East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet) is outdated.

However, as Gilbert and Sullivan adroitly put it, "things are seldom what they seem." Only six million of Japan's 85 million people live in Tokyo, and Tokyo is as far from being typical of Japan as New York City is from being typical of the United States. Even in Tokyo, if one looks carefully, one will notice the legless, armless, or otherwise maimed veterans begging in the streets. If he goes past Ueno Station after midnight, he will see whole families sleeping on sheets of newspaper spread out on the sidewalk. And if he leaves behind the downtown shopping center and the better residential sections to explore the section where Hideo Suzuki and his family lives, he will no longer feel that this might well be Main Street, U.S.A.

Tokyo has its slums, but it is not until one leaves Tokyo and goes out into the country that one appreciates the pervasive poverty of

Japan. For, although Japan has been an independent nation for over a year now, Tokyo is still an "occupation city," and the seeming prosperity of her streets reflects not the basic prosperity of the Japanese nation, but what is commonly referred to as the "Korean War boom," or the millions of dollars that are pouring into Japan because of her use by America (and to a minor degree, by other U.N. nations) as a base from which to carry on the war in Korea.

The Trade Issue

What will happen when this boom ends is the $64 question. For the real problem of Japan—that of over-population, of a nation with half the population of the United States but not as much arable land as the state of California—has in no way been solved as yet. The government, realizing that birth control is the only real, lasting solution, is taking steps to encourage and educate the people along this line. However, this is a slow job, and, although the population of Japan is now increasing at a decreasing rate, any actual stabilization of decrease in the population is a thing of the far future. One measure the government is taking to decrease the population immediately is the encouragement of emigration, but efforts in this direction are rather hampered by the fact that, for the most part, South American countries are the only ones where Japanese immigrants are welcome today.

The only other solution open to Japan is that of extensive trade. She *must* trade if her people are to eat, for despite the ingenuity and skill of her farmers in using every available inch of land and in farming right up to the tops of mountains, there is no way in whi
enough rice can be grown on t
island to feed all the people. And
certain business interests in t
United States win out in their fig
to keep Japanese goods out of t
American market through hi
protective tariffs, then Japan w
probably turn to her neighb
China for trade, not because she
pro-Communist or ungrateful
America, but because for her, tra
ing is literally a matter of life a
death!

Another misunderstanding one
apt to have after a short, superfic
look at Japan is that she is now
democratic nation. True, Japan h
a democratic constitution and
now governed by duly elected re
resentatives of the people, but the
is still a great difference betwe
being a democracy on paper a
being one in fact. To many it see
as if democracy in Japan is tod
only "skin deep."

Yoshida Unpopular

To point out how democracy
not working effectively in Jap
we have only to turn to the matt
of choosing a Prime Minister. The
is probably no more unpopular m
in Japan today than Shigeru Y
shida, yet through skillful maneu
ering he was able recently to a
quire the post of Prime Minist
for the fifth consecutive time. It
probably true that his Libe
Party (hardly liberal!), which
supported by the farmers and t
businessmen, commands the majo
ity vote, but that Yoshida, desp
his contradictory statements, nam
calling and angry tantrums in t
Diet—which have lost for him t
respect of most Japanese—shou
continue as Prime Minister, sho
both the political ineffectiveness
public opinion and the absence

any real statesmen in Japanese public life.

An even more dangerous sign is the present trend toward a revival of state control over the life and thinking of the people. This is expressed, for instance, in the bill (now being considered) to limit the right to strike, in the recent attempt to establish a Government Information Bureau, and in recent legislation aimed at centralizing both police power and education.

Democratic Techniques

The Japanese are fast learning the technique of mass demonstration as a means of expressing their opinions to the government. This was shown by the student and labor demonstrations opposing the anti-subversive activities bill last year, and is presently being shown in the demonstrations in Uchinada Village, Ishikawa Prefecture, against the requisition of their land for use as an American shell-firing test range. The expression of public opinion by such demonstrations is a good and necessary phase of democracy, but the more fundamental, and more important, phase—that of widespread education and political activity among the people in order to elect representatives who will carry out the wishes of the electorate, and of keeping in touch with representatives and informing them of opinions through local political groups and correspondence—these slower, less dramatic, but surer and longer-lived "grass root" applications of democracy, have not as yet taken hold. It is hard to see how there can ever be local education, understanding, interest, or activity in politics, especially in the rural areas, until the standard of living is raised enough so that the people have time to think of something other than the pressure of providing for day-to-day needs.

This same standard of living situation affects the Christian Church in Japan, which is now composed mainly of professional and upper-class persons, and thus whose strength lies almost completely in the urban areas. Not a "departmentalized" religion that concerns itself only with a people's theological beliefs, practices of worship and spiritual life, but a religion that concerns itself with the whole of life and thus has something to say (and more important, something to do) about man's economic and social plight, will find a welcome in Asia today. The Japanese Church is finding this out and is beginning to train not only theologians, but also those who will go out and meet the people in agriculture and industry. But at present, if Japan should go the way of China, it is doubtful that the organized Church will be strong or cohesive enough to survive as such. However, where Christianity has been a genuine new way of life for individuals, or a real, living fellowship within a church, it would, of course, survive in Japan as it has in China.

The Brighter Side

There is a brighter side to the current Japanese scene. One of the most hopeful things is that Emperor worship is gone for good. This is not to say that there are not still many among the older generation who regard the Emperor as semi-divine, but the belief in the divinity of the Emperor and the divine destiny of Nippon as a moving force in the life of Japan, has disappeared. It is not impossible to imagine Japan going to war again

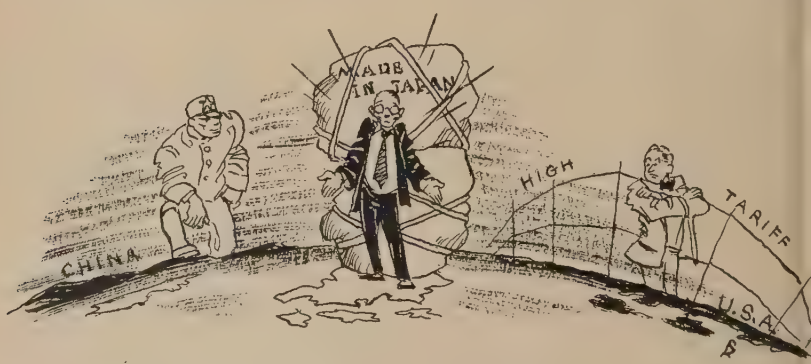
in the future in an attempt to find an outlet for her population and thus to solve her desperate economic situation, but the Japanese people will never again be persuaded to enter the battlefield in the belief that it is their divine destiny to rule Asia!

High Standard of Happiness

Another thing which bodes well for the future of Japan is the small, but definitely alert and thinking, group among those few young people who are privileged to obtain a university education. These young people, some with Christian motivation, others from humanitarian sentiment, are determined to tackle the economic and other problems of their land and to create out of Japan a truly democratic and peace-loving nation.

It is always dangerous to make generalizations about somthing as immeasurable as a nation's attitude, but while in Japan, I have often been reminded of Eugene Smith's words: "Many nations with lower standards of living (than the United States) have higher standards of happiness." Perhaps it is something characteristic of the East or something learned throu their suffering and defeat in last war, but many Japanese pe ple seem to have an inner pea and contentment that is not d pendent on material possessio and outer circumstances as o often is in America. When t contentment takes the form of talistic feelings and an acceptan of those circumstances which co and should be changed, then it negative; but when it takes form of an ability to be satisf with the simple life, without tri mings, to be able to find enjoym without movies, television, rad and cars, merely by taking time do kindnesses to others, to app ciate the beauty of a few flowers a musical composition, to play w a baby—then it is a trait wh many Americans, too busy to enj life except in times specifically aside for amusement and recre tion, would do well to acquire.

It is a good thing that many Ja anese have this ability to enj life in the present and not to always hurrying so that they d arrive at some far-away point time from which they will at l enjoy life, for all thinking Japan must face the future with troubl



minds and hearts. They have seen the tragic results of war at first hand; they have been convinced of the wrongness (or at least, the hopelessness) of the course they pursued in the Second World War; they have a model Peace Constitution; they have renounced war for all time and undergone six years of education for peace under the American occupation.

Where is this peace for the Japanese? Their present prosperity is a temporary one dependent on a war in a neighboring country; their young men are already undergoing training in what no sensible person really believes is a "Police Reserve"; their Diet is now debating whether or not to accept Mutual Security Aid funds that would tie them closer to one of the warring powers; and every time they begin to think that maybe they can pursue peace and try to achieve a permanently prosperous economy based on peace instead of war, they are turned back by tariff barriers, immigration barriers, and the various pressures of power politics. Seemingly caught "between the devil and the deep-blue sea," many Japanese look longingly and with respect in the direction of India and the path she has chosen. But here in Japan leadership of the quality of Nehru's has yet to appear.

Other Observers in Japan

Defeat has made the Japanese people extremely humble. They not only invite criticism but they also look down upon many of the fine things in their country of which they might be justly proud. This latter tendency, of course, is undesirable and the pendulum is gradually swinging back. Of all the things which have come of Japan's defeat in war, this feeling of humility is perhaps the most important. One hopes that it will be carefully preserved to the right degree. And, incidentally, the ability to stand criticism from others is one of the starting points of democracy.

—**Manas,** August 5, 1953

●

Hans de Boer was shocked at what he found in Hiroshima. It was hard to see any real cripples, because they were hiding from Western tourists, who come for "sightseeing tours" (the expression used by the Japanese) and then go back to their countries speaking about "the wonderful reconstruction of Hiroshima."

More people are opposed to rearmament in Japan than in any other country Hans de Boer has visited. . . . It is admitted that 30 per cent of the peace groups are communist inspired. But more than 60 per cent are "fed up with war." Students and teachers are more open in their opposition to rearmament than anywhere else. . . . The thinking Japanese blames the Americans as much as the Communists for the terrible war in Korea.

—**The Peacemaker,** July 1953

What Price FREE SPEECH

by Wolcott Cutler

THE whole subject of what strategy to assume in the face of Congressional investigation was quite unexpectedly brought home by recent reports in the Boston press that the Jenner committee of the Senate had subpoenaed "a minister in Charlestown." Since I am the only one of the three ministers in Charlestown who might conceivably be on any Congressional list of so-called subversives, we naturally watched the telephones and the mails attentively for several days. But no communication of any sort has been received from the committee, which has long since returned to Washington. However, we present here the result of our study of the matter on the chance that at a later time some Congressional committee may really be seeking us.

In the first place, we have personally no interest in being anything but honest. Never have we tried to conceal our convictions religious, moral, political or ec economic questions. We have n ordinarily felt it right to give voi to our attitude toward particul candidates for political offices, b we have never hesitated to ma clear our Christian concern abo important matters of social mora ity or of government.

In the second place, we have i variably done our best to coopera to the full with the Federal Bure of Investigation, as well as with a local bodies charged with law e forcement. We do not believe sheltering law-breakers of any ki from apprehension and trial. If w should ever know of any indivi uals or groups giving actual aid any enemy nation, we would n hesitate to inform on them instan ly, although it would not be to

committee of Congress that we would be likely to report.

On the other hand, the fact that a person had in the past belonged to the Communist Party—almost invariably for idealistic reasons—would not weaken our respect for his patriotism so long as he is today a person of good character and free from Russian domination. This will sound strange to those overexcited patrioteers in legislative halls and elsewhere who are working for teachers' oaths and iron-clad laws against every instructor who has ever been enamored of the Communist claims to a better way of life. Some of our finest teachers and writers today are persons who at one time in their lives were followers of Marx and Engels or of Stalin or Trotsky. To suppose that an unbroken record of undeviating adherence to the capitalist system is essential to true patriotism or to pure Christianity is really arrogance of the most blind and bigoted sort.

Protection of Minorities

In the third place, we do not seek for a teacher or for a minister any privileged position as regards the law or freedom of expression. The kind of democracy in which we believe guarantees freedom of press and of speech and of assemblage to all persons, regardless of their economic or professional or other status in the social order. The American Constitution is designed to protect minorities from more powerful political or other groups, not because the minorities are necessarily wiser or more virtuous, but because a democracy depends for its continuance upon the free interplay of all points of view, and upon the airing of every just or even unjust criticism of officials and of their policies. In no other way can the great mass of the public be educated to vote intelligently as citizens.

An Ever-widening Storm

Coming now to the subject in hand, let us ask the specific question: is it better to approach these Congressional committees with the respect and cooperation that is due to any legitimate arm of the government or to challenge their pretensions and seek to undermine their widespread hold on the faith of the vast bulk of our citizenry? Everything depends upon what is the real effect of these country-wide public hearings upon the morale and temper of our nation. Personally we have been able to discern no single achievement of good and an ever-widening storm cloud of fear and suspicion as a result of the heaping of public scorn upon leading members of the literary, dramatic, teaching and preaching professions, because of their having at some time in their lives experienced a leaning toward Communism or perhaps, like Bishop Oxnam, discovered too late that their name was being used in one or more seemingly good causes that were eventually listed by the Attorney General as subversive.

We tend more and more to agree with the eminent literary critic and biographer, Granville Hicks, when he says: "In the two days of hearings I attended, it was proven . . . that fifteen years ago, when the intellectual atmosphere was most favorable to Communism, eight or ten of the hundreds of teachers at Harvard were Communists. That is scarcely infiltration on the grand scale. . . . If that's the best the Communist Party can do, perhaps we're too worried about it. . . .

"In the second place some people were hurt. . . . I am thinking of the seven or eight men, most of them still in academic life, who drifted into the party and out of it in the late thirties. They are going to be judged by thoughtless people as if there were no differences between being a Communist in 1938 and being one in 1953."

"Risk for Risk"

Similarly Judge Learned Hand of New York, retired Senior Judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, has said: "I believe that that community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection, where denunciation without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence. . . . Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry."

It is difficult if not impossible to believe that these three Congressional committees are sincere or honest. Do they themselves really believe what they are saying publicly when they list as under investigation for alleged subversiveness, Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, once president of Wellesley College and later commander of the WAVES, or Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam? Their groundi

The Author

The Rev. Mr. Cutler is (and has been for 29 years) Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts. He edits **Wings of Love,** a parish paper dealing courageously with non-parochial social issues, and has espoused enough progressive causes these many years to qualify for Congressional investigation.

His hobbies—nature study and photography—he has turned into fruitful, social pursuits. For the small fry of his town, he has listed and described the more than sixty species of birds that reside in or visit Charlestown, and he is now engaged in providing the Boston Public Library with one thousand stereopticon slides of Charlestown's history.

Moreover, a passion for mountain climbing has taken him up a hundred and forty-five "peaks" in New England. It is easy to see why Mr. Cutler never found time to write the thesis that would have earned him an advanced degree!

for suspicion in Mrs. Horton's case were said to have come from her belonging to too many organizations, including the National Council of Churches. In Bishop Sherrill's case, a representative of the House Un-American Activities Committee wrote to the National Council in reply to its inquiry, that the bishop has sponsored a Congress of Soviet-American Friendship meeting. The fact that this was in 1942 when the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were allies in arms may not at once occur to the newspaper-reading public, but it could not have escaped the scrutiny of a genuine investigating group.

Oxnam Defends Himself

In the case of Bishop Oxnam, an enterprising newspaper succeeded after some evasions by the committee, in securing and printing a complete copy of all 24 items in the files of the House Committee, on the basis of which Representative Donald Jackson of California had stated in the House on March 27, 1953 that the bishop "served God on Sunday and the Communist front the balance of the week." *The Washington Post* gave Oxnam space to answer each charge specifically in its April 5 edition, and itself concluded that "the dossier compiled on Bishop Oxnam is the kind of dossier compiled by the political police behind the iron curtain. It does not represent investigation, it represents a naked and ugly attempt at intimidation. . . . (It is) a compilation of groundless gossip."

The bishop has charged the committee thus: "What does this mean, then, for the American citizen on whom the committee has made a file? It means that he can be damaged without redress. It means that instead of the community knowing the positions he has held, the service that he has rendered, the views he holds, and the estimate of the people that have known him, he is judged by a document that appears to be deliberately designed to discredit him. The committee, I suggest, is using methods that in ordinary parlance would be called blackmail."

Restraining Public Hysteria

The president of the Massachusetts Bar Association holds that "if the elected representatives (like Jenner and McCarthy and Velde and their committeemen) exceed the bounds of propriety, the American way of dealing with that is at the polls." This point of view, however, makes no provision for a minority group, not to mention an aggrieved individual, ever to be protected against an uninformed or unwise majority. Voting at the polls is the least likely method of restraining public hysteria. The ordinary safeguards of enlightened court procedure are what have been carefully worked out through hundreds of years of civilized history to protect the individual or the minority group from rash or unwarranted majority action. But it is these customary principles of court procedure that the three Congressional committees have been ignoring, apparently with the enthusiastic approval of the majority of the voters in their home states.

The *Boston Herald* is on no firmer ground when it says editorially on May 8: "These hearings are priceless lecture platforms, equipped with the best reporters, radio and television, affording a captive audience alert and interested. Why should anyone guilty of nothing more than unorthodox opinions throw away such a chance?"

We wonder how this line of ar-

gument will appeal to the men and women haled before one or another of these committees, who have been denied the chance to read from a prepared statement, have been told that any sentence of theirs longer than the committee likes is an argument and not a statement of fact, and have been sent away feeling that the "captive audience, alert and interested" assumes their guilt by reason of the condemnatory attitude of their inquisitors, and because they themselves have not had the least chance to know the exact charges against them, to question their accusers, or to present their case in an orderly manner to a tenth of the people to whom the committee has presumably presented the libellous prejudgments.

Real Motives

These committees claim, of course, that their public and private hearings are to secure information, but as a matter of fact, they invariably seem to possess all the information that they are supposed to be seeking before they call an individual before them. In the case of a fellow clergyman whom I have long known and respected, the Jenner committee asked him many questions that he could answer readily, but one question on which his memory was hazy. When he suggested that they stimulate his recollection by reading to him from their own records on the matter, they turned to what he later described as four folders of clippings about him each a couple of inches thick. Committee hearings have not usually been either to secure unknown facts or to afford the unorthodox person the protective safeguards of a judicial trial, but to brand the unfortunate individual in the eyes of the largest possib audience with the damaging mar of being either admittedly or b implication, an enemy of this coun try in time of war. The fact th Harvard University has refused discharge three teachers recentl given short shrift by these Con gressional committees should n blind our eyes to the unfortuna plight of all the other individua backed by no powerful independen organization courageous enough judge their cases on their indivi ual merits.

Personal Non-cooperation

We earnestly hope that St. John Parish would never expect nor de sire us to cooperate in any way c to the slightest degree with an one of these inquisitorial commi tees. We recognize that legally thes position is presumably unassai able. They have the power to pun ish anyone who refuses to appea before them. Yet, strangely enoug we find ourselves at this poin praying for strength to follow line suggested (for a different rea son) by the *Boston Herald* in a editorial on May 7, when it says "Those who have strong convictions against the processes of the Jenne committee, or the McCarthy c Velde committees, could most hon orably make their protest by proud refusal to answer on tha basis, without recourse to the Fift Amendment, even though thi brought prosecution for contempt Presumably the unprincipled an cowardly work of these completel protected committees of the na tional Congress will go merrily o and on, abetted by the cheers an jeers of the unthinking, until som such absolutist stand is taken by number of individuals who posses some degree of public confidence.

Letter from a 1AO

I HAVE BEEN in the "Land of the Morning Calm" now for fifteen days. Last Friday, I was assigned to a platoon as a litter-bearer. A platoon of men is about forty in number, and in the infantry each platoon has one man and one litter-bearer who go with it on all operations. The aidman treats accidents and casualties, while the litter-bearer supervises the evacuation to litter jeeps that start the casualty moving to the rear areas for complete medical attention.

Medics have no guard, no MP, and no details except their own preventive medic work. All are expected to carry weapons, however. This I have refused to do. So far, they have honored my refusal. We went to the firing-range last Monday where the medics fired for practice; another CO and I stood by and watched. I draw the line at taking a weapon, but even at that my witness has been so watered down that I seriously challenge anyone's calling me a pacifist.

Some Practical Problems

Here are some practical problems that face a 1-A-O:

(1) Guard. He can stand it without a weapon but when he gives the alarm in case of attack his buddies will rise to kill the attackers. If he refuses to stand watch, then he takes the attitude of "let them come and kill us" when the others in his camp don't share his pacifist life promise and his willingness to die rather than to kill. This is a ridiculous spot for a pacifist to be in. Here I am too close to one party which agrees to the use of violence to be a reconciler.

(2) What about driving a truck

. . . . . .

[1-A-O is the designation under Selective Service of conscientious objectors willing to serve in the armed forces in a noncombatant role.]

that has an unloaded rifle in the rack in plain view? There are some CO's doing this in our outfit even though they don't intend to use the weapon.

(3) Medics go on patrols. Should a CO go on an "ambush patrol" that aims to waylay and kill unsuspecting opposition troops? Here he abets the process so visibly that it should be clear to all that he is close to carrying arms and doing the fighting himself. You can see a 1-A-O's collusion more clearly the closer he gets to the front. Yet this is just a more intense form of what he is doing when he works in a hospital in the States.

Serious Compromises

We may go up to the line shortly and I will be getting patrols. I'll go, but expect to do so unarmed. I will do so realizing fully how I am compromising the peace testimony. These are difficult problems, and they lead me to say that a pacifist who comes into this is making a grave error. He becomes part of the conflict that he hopes to reconcile. He enters full force into the mainstream of a process that his religious convictions have led hi to oppose. I see this more clear than ever up here.

This may sound morbid, but I a impressed with the necessity of bo ing ready to die for something well as to live for something in th world. The fellows I am with fa death all the time for the protec tion of the USA in military term They may do it because of publ pressure but they do it and wi courage. It's the same way with t Commies on the other side. W pacifists must also be ready to die necessary for our beliefs. If it's t firing squad for being a CO, the that's it. I think we must through this problem in our mind This truth (if it is one) looks mo apparent here than it did at Fo Wood. Here the issue presents i self with more force.

The 1-A-O position is fraug with compromises that will wipe o pacifism if that stand is taken b pacifist youth. Yet, here again, would rather see a guy make thes compromises and live throug an army experience without bitte ness, than not be able to stand u under pressure exerted if he sta a civilian 1-O.

. . . Liberation through total destruction cannot be the answer to the world's dilemma. Korea, blotted out in the name of collective security, blames the people who drop the fire bombs, touch the match to the straw, blow up the precious industrial facilities. This may seem unfair to the military mind. But it is inevitable and perhaps not as unfair as it looks. For a force which subordinates everything to the job of killing the enemy becomes an enemy itself, no more tolerable to those who watch their country die under its attack. And after a while plain horror displaces a sense of righteousness even among the defenders of righteousness, and thus the cause itself becomes hateful. This has happened in Korea.

Freda Kirchwey, in **The Nation,** March 10, 1951

New UMT Fight Coming Up

Opponents of Universal Military Training will have a chance to renew their arguments before the National Security Training Commission that President Eisenhower has set in motion again. The Senate has confirmed the appointment of three men to fill commission vacancies. They are Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is the new chairman; Warren Atherton of San Francisco, former national commander of the American Legion; and Julius Ochs Adler, general manager of the *New York Times* and a major general of World War II.

Mr. Eisenhower was cool to the UMT idea during the presidential campaign last year, primarily because he didn't see how Selective Service and UMT could operate concurrently, both making claims on the nation's manpower. He now believes that in the light of the recent reduction in the size of standing forces a successful UMT-draft program could be worked out.

The commission will report to the President this December on this possibility, bringing out (1) present inequities in obtaining men for reserve duty in the armed forces, (2) the feasibility of operating UMT simultaneously with Selective Service, and (3) the relationship of a joint UMT-draft program with the Organized Reserve.

The commission will not conduct public hearings at this time, but will hear testimony from religious groups in private session. For the most part, however, the commission will rely on a review of the testimony presented to the House Armed Services Committee in 1951.

Methodist Ministers Will Fly to "Detroit"

At a midsummer meeting of the Pacific-Southwest Regional committee it was announced that a group of Methodist ministers in the Southwest would be attending the Church and Peace Conference in Detroit in the interests of F.O.R. Upon their return, mass meetings on the subject of the Church's position on war will be held throughout the Southwest area, with these men as featured speakers. A chartered plane will provide transportation. The "Detroit Conference" will be held December 7-10 under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission.

Other fall speakers for the F.O.R. in California were also announced at this meeting. They are: Hugh Faulkner, Prof. Paul Johnson, Dr. Culbert Rutenber, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, Kirby Page and Allan Hunter.

Supreme Court Will Define "Minister"

The issue of what constitutes a minister of religion under the Selective Service Act will come before the Supreme Court this month. The Court has agreed to hear arguments on an appeal from a decision rendered in San Francisco last March by the Court of Appeals of the Ninth Federal Circuit.

The appellate court had upheld the ruling of a local California draft board classifying George Lewis Dickinson, 22, a Jehovah's Witness, as 1-A and rejecting his claim for military exemption as a "minister." The judges held that Dickinson, under 20 at the time, was too young to be a qualified minister and that the sect's definition of what constitutes a minister is "quite different from the ordinary conception" of that term.

Attorneys for Dickinson contended in their appeal to the Supreme Court that no one is qualified to determine who is a minister except the religious body being served.

Although the Supreme Court decided against Harry Nugent and Lester Packer and in favor of secret F.B.I. evidence being used in CO court cases, the case is not really closed. Hayden Covington, counsel for the two New York City men, has petitioned the Court for a rehearing and Chief Justice Vinson has granted a stay of mandate pending the Court's decision on rehearing the case. The stay of mandate allows the men to remain out of prison while the petition is pending.

The new term of the Court opens the 12th of this month. It is said that the Court seldom acts favorably on a request for rehearing.

Norman Rush, a CO released from Tucson (Ariz.) prison this summer, is now working in New York City. He hopes for early publication of a "prison" novel.

Out of the more than 3,000 COs reported by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors as performing alternate civilian service, 1,943 have answered the Board's questionnaire on their religious affiliation. Of this number none are of Roman Catholic or Jewish persuasion. The greatest number are Mennonites or Amish and all but 30 are from the historic peace churches.

Sentenced recently for refusing induction were: *Monty Prother* (Seattle, Wash.), 3½ years; and *Everett Johnson* (Peoria, Ill.), year, 1 day. *Andrew Yoder* (Columbus, Ohio), charged with leaving his 1-W assignment, was freed on probation by agreeing to return to work.

Arrested recently were: *Harlan McCall,* Illinois; *Charles Radeker* New Jersey; and *Richard Blazey Park Honan* and *George Hall* of New York.

Trocme, in U.S., Has Book Published

André Trocmé, French pacifist currently touring this country for the International FOR, has just had his latest book published by Fellowship Publications. Entitled *The Politics of Repentance,* the book was released to coincide with this visit. A French edition is also planned.

The broad theme of the book is

the Church's mission in the area of peace. Trocmé is especially concerned that in times of crisis, when there is a contest of power between Church and State, the Church is always the loser. Called to be the world's "conscience," it seems powerless to act with conviction or to keep the allegiances of men and women in times of international tension, when its unique counsel is most needed. The book speaks courageously, though without rancor, on this issue.

Trocmé's visit here is part of a continuing speaking tour that has already taken him to Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, England and North Africa. He will address university and church audiences predominantly and will not venture west of the Mississippi or into the South. Such concentration allows him to spend more time speaking and less time traveling. His last major engagement will be in Detroit, where he will be a featured speaker at the Church Peace Mission's all-important Conference on the Church and Peace, December 7-10.

Quirino Releases Japanese Prisoners

In July President Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines announced that his government was setting free the Japanese prisoners of war still confined on the islands. The order of clemency, received with joy in many quarters, not the least of which were the prisons themselves, did not apply, however, to men under sentence of death. These prisoners are being transferred to Sugamo Prison in Japan where they will serve life sentences.

The Australian government, too, has decided to repatriate Japanese war criminals held on Manus Island.

The executive secretary of the FOR in Japan, Paul M. Sekiya, who, with FOR members throughout the world, has been working hard to effect such relief for prisoners of a war now relatively long past, sent letters of gratitude to officials of the two governments stationed in Tokyo. His letter of July 22, addressed to the Philippines ambassador, reads in part:

"We wish to take this opportunity to confess our sense of guilt for the atrocious acts perpetuated upon your people by our soldiers during the last war. We do not know how we can atone for the suffering, misery and pain caused upon your people. Will you accept our sincere apologies which we offer in deep penitence. We can well understand the indescribable personal pain and grief of your president who lost the dear members of his own family at the hands of Japanese soldiers. In spite of all that, he has demonstrated an unparalleled Christian spirit of forgiveness of his enemy. . . ."

FOR Professors Change Schools

Several FOR professors are shifting schools this fall. *Dr. Paul Johnson* of Boston University will teach in the School of Religion at the University of Southern California. *Dr. Culbert Rutenber*, author of *The Dagger and the Cross*, will be at the California Baptist Theological Seminary, instead of at the Baptist seminary in Philadelphia, while *Dr. Floyd Ross* of the University of Southern California will be in India.

UN Commission Halts Testimony

The United Nations Commission on the racial situation in South Africa held up the testimony of a witness during its early August hearings because he was touching on international questions which the chairman ruled could not be discussed.

The witness, Mr. Tom Wardle, a London journalist on the staff of *Peace News*, international pacifist weekly, was the last person to give evidence. He had introduced the question of external support for the present South African government and its policy of racial segregation and oppression. He had begun by saying that his experience in South Africa led him to the conclusion that the regime of Dr. Daniel Malan could not have gone so far, perhaps may now have fallen, were it not for powerful influences outside South Africa that helped it to remain alive.

Mr. Wardle held that this assistance comes largely from three sources: (1) Great Britain, (2) the United States and (3) states with colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere. There are three main reasons why this assistance is offered. They are:

(1) The existence of race discrimination in territories under control of the three groups: British colonial possessions; the Southern states of the United States, and Puerto Rico; and the colonial possession of other powers. These groups are not anxious to have the UN pursue the matter of discrimination in their territories, so they keep quiet about South Africa.

(2) The importance of favorable economic relations with South Africa. These involve markets for the sale of British and American goo in the Union; preferential access raw materials, including gol uranium and manganese; the pro tection of substantial British an American investments in th country.

(3) War preparation and de fense agreements. Mr. Wardle wa about to proceed to a detaile analysis of the arrangements whic he considered had been made be tween the South African Defens Department and the United State State Department and Great Bri ain. He had begun with a refer ence to South Africa's opinion as t her part in the North Atlant Treaty Organization, when he wa ruled out of order by the chairma "We must not discuss questions o international politics," said th chairman. "If you have nothin further to add to the facts abou the racial situation, I must end th testimony."

Mr. Wardle replied that he cor sidered that the matter was of im mediate relevance to the situatio as it was concerned with the cir cumstances that made white dom nance possible and profitable. A the bulk of his testimony remain ing was based upon an extension o this examination and some pro posals for possible lines of actio by the United Nations aiming a the release of racial tension an the nonviolent settlement of th problem, there was little furthe that he could say that would be i order. He therefore concluded h testimony.

Engagements Sought for Peace Workers

A tentative cross-country sched ule has just been announced fo the Rev. and Mrs. Leslie Hayma

peace workers from Germany due to arrive here the 1st of November. Setting out in the general direction of New Zealand, Mr. Hayman's home, they plan to cross the country at a leisurely pace, taking in the sights and speaking to as many groups as possible.

Mr. Hayman, as a Methodist minister, has been an assistant of Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, outstanding German pacifist, for many years. His wife, a Pole, was confined in a Polish labor camp during the war. For the past four years, both have been "running" the IFOR's Freundschaftsheim (friendship home) in Petzen-bei-Bückeburg.

Where the Haymans will be and when: November 1-14, New York and New England areas; November 15-28, Middle Atlantic states and Washington, D. C.; November 29-December 12, Ohio, Toronto and Michigan, including Detroit Conference on the Church and Peace; December 13-26, North and Central Midwest; December 27-January 2, South Midwest, Colorado; January 3-22, West Coast. Arrangements are being handled by Mrs. Bob Meyners, 620 W. 116th Street, New York City 27.

Walker Arrested During Street Meeting

Bulletin—September 24. Walker case dismissed for lack of evidence.

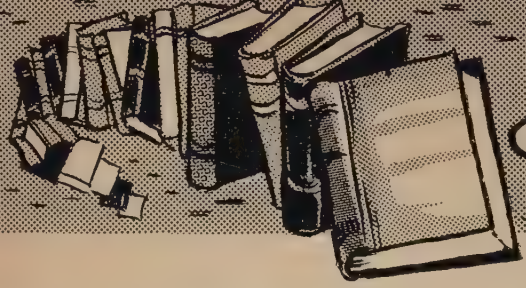
Charles Walker, executive secretary of the Philadelphia FOR, was arrested along with seven other participants during a July 22nd street meeting at Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia. The charge at the time of the arrest was the lack of a required permit, but when it became obvious that no permit was required, as Walker claimed all along, the charge was changed, at the booking, to "breach of the peace."

After spending the night of the 22nd in jail, the eight appeared before Magistrate Elias Myers for a hearing. Walker's own account follows:

"The conduct of the magistrate can only be described as incredible. He said, for example: 'This isn't Russia where anybody can get up on a soap box and lead a mob.' He wanted to know why we weren't over in Korea, as was his son. That's where we should have been instead of out preaching 'this stuff' on the streets. 'So you want to change things here, huh?' he said at another point. Longstreth (our attorney) replied: 'Your Honor, all of us want to change some things, even here in Philadelphia.' 'You can do that at election time,' Myers snapped. 'Outside of that you don't go around preaching on the streets.' When Formal Opinion No. 32 of the City Solicitor, Abraham Freedman, was mentioned, stating that no permit is required, the magistrate said: 'I don't care what Abe Freedman says and you can tell him I said so.'

"When Magistrate Myers, toward the end of the meeting, said such meetings as ours should be broken up, Sergeant Pollizzi said: 'And I'll break them up again.' Both these statements were unlawful, and one who makes them is guilty of a felony and liable for fine and imprisonment under the Federal Civil Rights Act."

Add Myers' discourtesy to the trumped up charges of the arresting officers and you get an idea of what the "case" is all about. At the time of this writing six of the eight arrested have paid fines or been acquitted.



BOOKS

Constructive Decades

For More Than Bread, by Clarence Pickett. Little, Brown and Co., 1953. 433 pp., $5.00.

In England on journalists' passports during the war, my fellow-editor and I had to fly hurriedly back to our office on the Continent. Exit permits for press workers were being held up, however, because some American newsman had smuggled out information that almost cost the British a cruiser and hundreds of lives. A Friend, intervening with the Foreign Office on our behalf, got instant approval and a revealing comment: "Why didn't they *say* they were *Quakers?*"

This trust, which many an undeserving Friend has experienced to the point of embarrassment, was engendered largely by the work and spirit of the Friends Service Council in Britain and the American Friends Service Committee in the United States. Reasons for it shine through Clarence Pickett's new book, which with disarming humility, but impressive detail, describes the Committee's efforts and achievements during his years as Executive Secretary.

The A.F.S.C., when Clarence Pickett came to it in 1929, was a going enterprise, with solid accomplishment to its credit. But the depression years were ahead; totalitarianism of different brands was soon to go on the rampage in Europe; and American policy was infused with an increasing emphasis on armament. Already thousands at home were desperate for food and hope and before long millions around the world were to be victims of oppression and war often torn between reaction and revolution.

Not a mere list of projects, but a narrative that at times is moving this book tells intimately of the rehabilitation of miners in America communities, Quaker centers abroad, vast relief programs, attempts at peace settlements, institutes of international relations work camps in Mexico, adventures in racial equality, quiet intercession at the U.N. and a heartening series of additional undertakings some in cooperation with large groups.

At the root of it all, unmistakably, has been the religious pacifist conviction. Many minds, though not exclusively pacifist, have tackled these opportunities for usefulness always with warmth, frequently with sensitive imagination. And through these difficult decades Clarence Pickett moved in his key post, persuading, planning, consulting, mobilizing units large and small for constructive ends. The development of the author himself as he faced these opportunities and problems, makes happy reading.

Has the use of so many volunteers resulted now and then in a sort of jerkiness, with project

dropped too soon for fruition? Has there been too scant an attention to the hunger of the mind, in deference to physical ministrations? If so, these may be put down to the immensity of the tasks themselves. Certainly the A.F.S.C. record does not lack for daring and versatility, along with practicality.

Clarence Pickett does not gloss over shortcomings and even an occasional failure. Yet when the A.F.S.C. story is examined by later generations, the first question is likely to be: "How could they have done so much?"

—Devere Allen

A Hateful Thing

Who Speaks for Man?, by Norman Cousins. Macmillan, 1953. 318 pp., $3.50.

Mr. Cousins, an editor of *The Saturday Review*, has become well known as a proponent of world government. His position has enabled him to travel extensively and to interview world leaders. From such experiences he has written this book, which includes articles already published in periodical form.

In a number of ways the author is congenial to the Fellowship's point of view. He holds, for instance, that the individual can make a difference. He brings out, in a reported conversation with a German group, the danger of reliance on military glory in the state, and, concurrently, reliance on obedience in the citizen. He shows a desire, too, to achieve fellowship with remote peoples, and faces up regretfully but hopefully to America's own lapses from racial harmony.

The most convincing passages in the book, however, are quotations from a long conversation with Nehru. Balance, caution, emotional correctness—these qualities of statesmanship are evident.

In discussing the perplexities that result from differing national backgounds, Nehru said: ". . . in the world as it is we have to adopt the principle of live and let live, but always with an ever-growing cooperation."

And in responding to Mr. Cousin's journalistic prodding that the goal was not only to avoid war, but to avert it without sacrifice of justice or moral values, the Prime Minister observed: "After all, the greatest force in favor of degradation is war. . . . So from that point of view, also, war is a hateful thing; and if we are to preserve any kind of moral value in the world we have to avoid war."

—William E. Stafford

ADVERTISEMENTS

PINKING SHEARS—Only $1.95 postpaid. Chromium plated, precision made. Manufacturer's Christmas overstock. Guaranteed $7.95 value or money refunded. Order by mail. Lincoln Surplus Sales, 529 Main St., Evanston 41, Illinois.

PRINTER or person willing to learn, to work for weekly newspaper with pacifist liberal owners. Low pay; rich in experience. Write Yellow Springs News, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

PEACE—BUILD A WORLD THAT IS RIGHT FOR CHILDREN, 50c. Colorful, attractive, graphic peace folder. Useful for group discussions. Ruth Samson, 423 N. Milton Ave., Whittier, Calif.

DUTCHESS COUNTY. Must sell immaculate 7-room village house, 5 minutes walk to railroad station, shops, church. Asking $11,900. Box 262, Millerton, New York. Phone 141, r. 21. Nearby renting 4-room corner apartment.

The July Issue

Excerpts from letters recently received

We thoroughly enjoyed your recent issue on Children and World Tensions. It was a thought-provoking issue—especially to those who are parents of young children, well any parents!

MR. AND MRS. DICK BURLING
Modesto, California

Thank you for the July issue of FELLOWSHIP, I have delayed my reply until I could look it over thoroughly and read most of the pieces. You did an interesting job and if, as you imply in your foreword, the final picture is confused, it is probably only because the over-all situation is even more so. Parents going from the piece about the Bristol girls and the one by the Harrises to Milton Mayer's must surely end up with a swimming brain. . . .

DOROTHY BARCLAY
Parent and Child Editor
The New York Times

The article (Cover Girls, p. 11) is very well written, showing, or telling, clearly and exactly what happened. The cover was excellent, you certainly did a splendid job. I am really quite thrilled and honored at being in such a good magazine.

LEIGH BRISTOL
Philadelphia, Pa.

This note is to say thanks for the fine job you have done in putting together the July issue. I personally believe this functional approach is a step forward, and even though it involves considerable additional work I hope it will be possible to continue it at least from time to time.

GEORGE C. HARDIN
Friends' Peace Committee

There was hardly a page in this issue which was not "disturbing." I wonder if you have ever had a better group of articles all in one issue.

BOB CHILDERS
Houston, Texas

The July number is so good I want a couple of extra copies to lend to friends who have children.

ROY C. ANDREWS
Eugene, Oregon

Congratulations on your splendid July number! I have been so often critical of your editorials and articles that I must tell you right away what a noble accomplishment is yours this time in this issue. . . .

BARBARA C. CROCKER
Fitchburg, Mass.

Your last issue on "Children and World Tensions" was one of the finest things I have seen in print anywhere. We deeply appreciated, though not entirely agreed with, every article in the magazine, and have considered many of these problems on our own having two small children. . . . "Dicken and the Bomb" was one of the cleverest bits of serious humor I have ever read.

REV. WAYNE SELSOR
Lubbock, Texas

You've done it again! Congratulations on the most impressive and stimulating issue of FELLOWSHIP ye

to appear. If time and money were no object, I would see that all libraries and schools across the nation received copies. . . .

H. Vaïl Deale
Librarian,
Illinois Wesleyan Univ.

Congratulations on the best issue of Fellowship which I have ever seen. The special issue on "children" marks a high point in an already fine magazine.

Robert A. Lyon
AFSC

It is hard to single out any one article in this issue but it does seem that every one of our newspaper editors ought to read "Vermont Remains Calm" and let it soak in a bit.

Rev. Miss Mary Lou Bischmann
Columbus, Ohio

Disappointed!

The Editors,
Fellowship:

I was disappointed in the issue (July). I found little in it that stimulated new thought on my part or contributed to my potentialities as a successful pacifist parent.

My hope was that I would find articles dealing with specific problems in bringing up children to be pacifists, such as how to do it when one parent is pacifist and one isn't; can you bring up a child to be a pacifist? Should you try? (Milton Mayer dealt not very satisfactorily with the preceding two points, tho I enjoyed his article.) What specific aids or steps should one utilize in teaching your children to be pacifists? Possibly you were not trying to illuminate these particular problems. . . .

Mrs. Chester M. Patterson, Jr.
New Bedford, Mass.

Impressed!

While impressed with the total subject matter, my personal response singles out Margaret Halsey's condensed analysis as especially outstanding for its unusual informative grasp of the basic tensions underlying the current American scene. The split mentality of the American citizen of which Mrs. Halsey speaks explains the peculiar maneuverings of many of us who try furtively to square the Judeo-Christian ethic with contradictory business policy. Such maneuverings are usually performed behind the grand illusion that love and aggression are interchangeable segments of human behavior which can be expediently manipulated according to the demands of the occasion. The illusion is that part of the dilemma resulting in a social structure which compels men to live a contradiction. It is therefore not difficult to understand, among other conditions, why so many exhausted by the daily requirement to live two roles retreat to the neutral zone of psychosis.

Rev. Gilbert H. Vieira
Portersville, Calif.

White Corpuscles Needed

The Editors,
Fellowship:

The change of tune in the Kremlin offers an opportunity that the pacifist movement should be quick to seize.

Whether the shift is tactical or relatively permanent, at least the leaders of the Soviet Union are today making contacts possible. Whether these can lead to friendship and even reconciliation between peoples we can discover only by trying.

Pacifists have not been very impressive dabbling in power politics—suggesting levels of armed strength, urging horse trading between power blocs, proposing compromises for military negotiators, and so forth. As John Swomley pointed out, we did not really get down to cases that way. Nor did we have much success.

The peculiar genius of Christianity, as seen through pacifist eyes, lies in its suggestions for the way people deal with people. It lies in overcoming evil with good, in loving one's

enemies. If the change of Communist leadership means anything to pacifism, it means that there may now be a chance to attempt bridge-building across today's most terrible chasm, to the peoples who have learned to hate us.

Of the many theories for the Kremlin's change of heart, one of the most persuasive is that the Communists, seeing they can't get anywhere with their traditional methods, recognize they must take a gentler attitude toward their own people and foreigners, perhaps even to maintain power. Is not communism's extremity perhaps God's opportunity—through dedicated pacifists?

I have felt for a long time that the logic of pacifism demanded that we somehow dispatch relief cadres or *Satyagraha* teams into Russia. The idea has not seemed practical because both the Russian and U.S. governments appeared bound to oppose it. However, we cannot now be sure that Russia would not permit entry. And it would be difficult for Washington to find grounds for refusing us today if we were absolutely clear in rejecting the violence and deceit and materialism of Stalinist philosophy—which is of course in direct opposition to pacifist principles, in any case.

Unfortunately, there are no Russian-speaking teams all ready to go into the field, so far as I know. We can hardly expect the Russian experts to our diplomatic and military groups to do the task of reconciliation as a pacifist understands it. Perhaps the AFSC will have suitable personnel. Maybe the Russian YMCA in France will. And then the question immediately arises: Should we not soon be training Chinese-speaking teams against the day of change in Red China—and perhaps Korean speaking teams?

In any case, let's start pushin swarms of white corpuscles over int the raw, festering hate beyond th curtain!

ROBERT ROOT
Syracuse, N. Y.

"Uneasy Pacifists"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In FELLOWSHIP there is a continu misapprehension of the meaning the Church. For example, Walla Hancock notes in the June issue tha on certain occasions, the Churc chooses to jettison Jesus and h peace message.

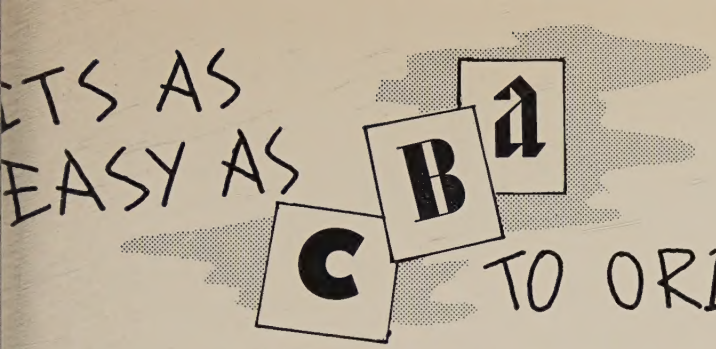
How could the Church repudia Jesus? The Church, being indissolu bly united to Jesus as his body, ca no more jettison him than my boc can leave me. *The thing which ca jettison Jesus is not the Church. . .*

It is true that some Christians b lieve mundane denominations are th Church, but this is merely pueri inability of vision. . . . Many liber Christians, particularly pacifists, fir themselves unable to continue ordinary denominational work they grow older. It is as if they wo up a little more each year until th discrepancy between what they sa all around them became so great tha they had to follow one to the exclu sion of the other. . . . It would be remarkable thought if the evolutio of what might be called a conscio Christian is already going on, an that "uneasy pacifists" are forerun ners of the new type.

JOHN MANCHESTER
Santa Cruz, California

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 3, Calif.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Calif.; *New England:* Richard Hathaway, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass.; *New York:* Howard Dean, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; *Philadelphia:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street.



1953 CHRISTMAS CARDS

Fellowship Christmas cards are something special—produced for those to whom Christmas is more than a day of commercialized merriment. The three new 1953 cards, like those of former years, reflect with beauty and dignity the real significance of the season. Appropriately, proceeds from their sale go to the Fellowship's work of peace and reconciliation here and in a score of countries abroad.

Card A

is a poignant combination of an original painting and Thomas Butler's tender "Song of Little." With envelopes, 15c each; 8 for $1; 50 for $5.50; 100 for $10.

Card B

is the well-known prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, lettered and illustrated with devoted craftsmanship by C. E. Molnar. With envelopes, 10c each; 12 for $1; 50 for $4; 100 for $7.50.

Card C

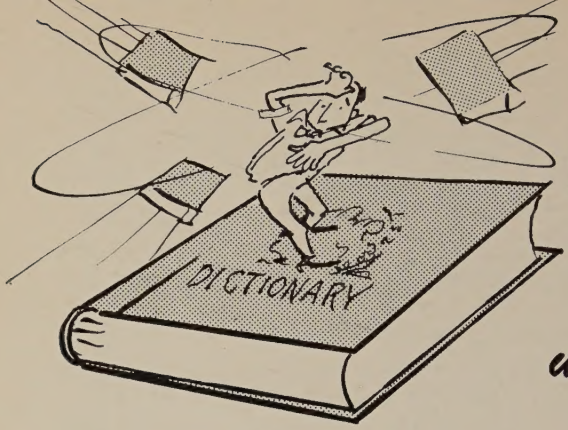
is a single card version of B. Without a French fold and envelopes, it is attractive, economical. Cards only, 20 for $1; $3.50 per 100. (Not sold in quantities of less than 20.)

WE HAVE A FEW LEFT of the 1952 Herzog-Lennen card. First come, first served. With envelopes, 10c each; 12 for $1; $7.50 per 100.

Send your order in today (using key letters A, B, C, 1952).

F.O.R. CHRISTMAS CARDS

21 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N. Y.



be-siege

(bi·sej'd

A definiti

with a differe

to make a long-continued attempt to get po

session of . . . We not only made an attempt, but we actual got, thousands of copies of publishers' overstock book They're good books, only they weren't selling fast enough justify being kept in stock any longer. So they're ours and o FALL BOOK SALE, just gathering steam, offers them to y at low, low prices.

to crowd around . . . "More books than people" compla the staff and they're right. Subway crowds are a pushov after scraping shins all day on AIDEEN MACLENNO (a CO novel, 79c) or fighting one's way through piles—pardo the expression—of THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO TH ATOMIC CRISIS (39c). The other day we even had to mo the Editor out (a serious course of action, you'll have to a mit) to make room for Tolstoy's THE LAW OF LOVE AN THE LAW OF VIOLENCE. He said he didn't really mi "since this 79c buy will probably be gone in a week!"

to be overwhelmed with requests, questions . .

Exactly what we hope to be. You'll wonder how we can off a $5.60 value (a MmilitarISM LIBRARY—four good pamp lets and a $4.50 book) for only $4. You'll want us to se Book Sale folders to all your friends. You'll ask for And Trocmé's new book (THE POLITICS OF REPENTANCE, $ and you'll insist on knowing "how, but how" we can off so much for so little. Go ahead besiege us! requests, questio orders, cash!

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

21 AUDUBON AVENUE NEW YORK 32, N.